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TRADE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN EPHEBUS AND ADRIATIC REGION*

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There were close trade connections between Italy and Ephesus from the late Hellenistic period to the late Roman times. Here I shall discuss the Ephesian import of Adriatic foodstuffs and amphorae.¹ These amphorae were found at the excavations of the Tetragonos Agora, the Terrace House 2, and the Basilica Stoa. In addition, I shall give a brief account of the export of the foodstuffs and amphorae from Ephesus and its vicinity to Adriatic region.

Key words: Ephesus, Adriatic region, trade connections

1. Late Republican - early Roman production in Italy

The Roman power in the Eastern Mediterranean gained momentum after the victory of Pydna and the Pergamon inheritance. Delos was declared to be a free port in order to undermine the role of Rhodes. Roman expansion reached a new stage at the end of the second century B.C. This started the large-scale immigration of Italian merchants in the Eastern Mediterranean, and Ephesus was one of the

obvious targets. Cheap slave labour came to Italy through Delos. The slaves gave an impetus to agriculture, and the surplus was exported to East and West, which needed the support of troops, merchants and businessmen.

The earliest Western wine came from Campania and Sicily to Ephesus: the characteristic Greco-Italic amphora type² here - like elsewhere - is restricted to a few pieces. There are more Italian amphorae among the objects belonging to the period from the end of the second century to the first

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¹ Ephesus olive oil import from Brindisi region: Bezeczký 2002, 355-358.

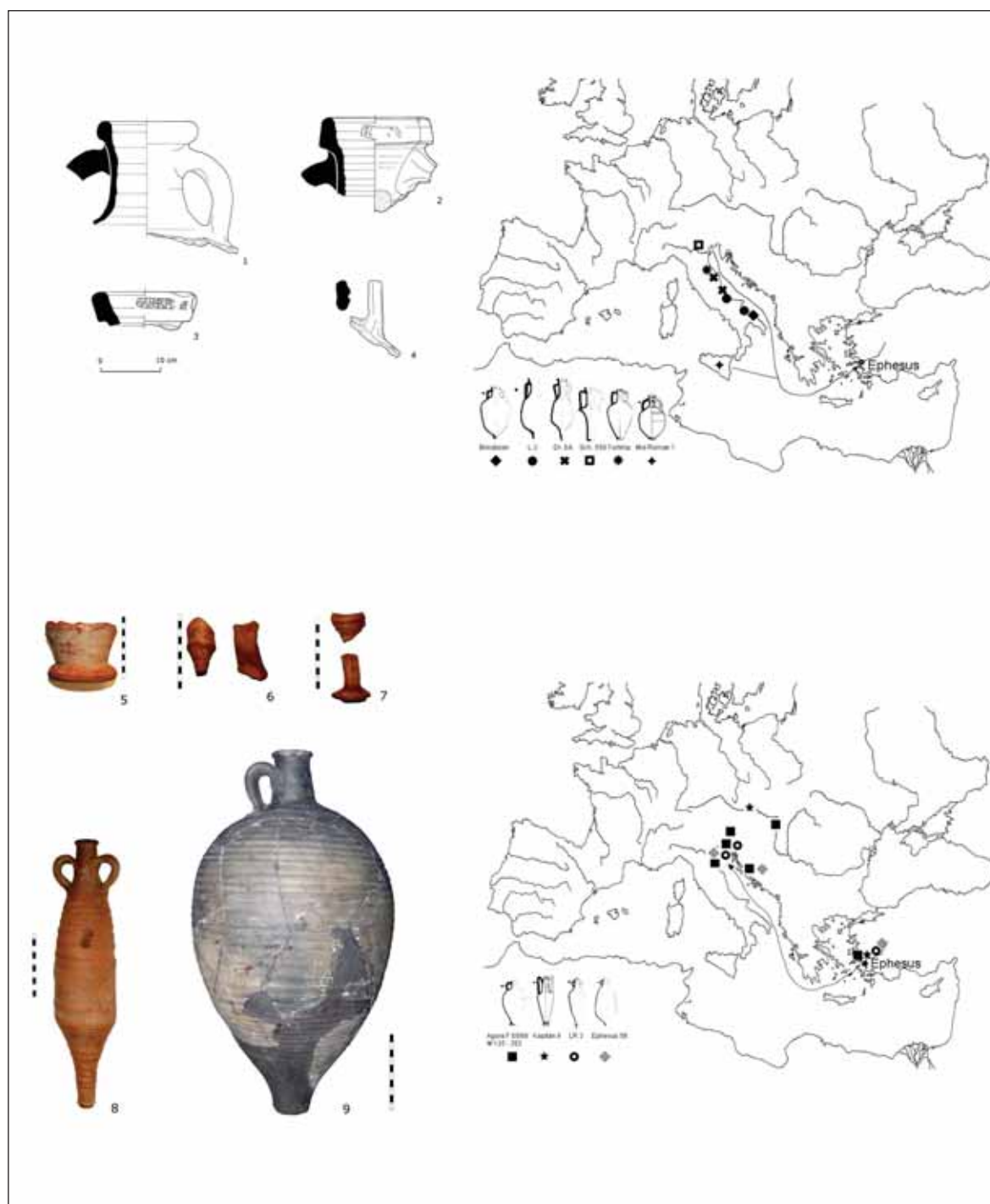
² Peacock and Williams 1986, Class 2; Will 1982, 338-356; Tchernia 1986, 42-44, 314-315; Empereur and Hesnard 1987, 25-29; Manacorda 1986, 581-586; Vandermersch 1994, 69-92; Lund, 2000, 80; Williams, Panella and Keay 2005, Greco-Italic.

Fig. 1. Upper part, Adriatic trade to Ephesus

Amphorae from Tetragonos Agora: no. 1, Brindisian-Ovoid Adriatic (95002-3), no. 2, Lamboglia 2 (93059-17), no. 3, Dressel 6A (92095-1268), no. 4, Schörgendorfer 558 (99042-1610).

Lower part, Ephesus trade to Adriatic region

No. 5, Agora F65 (Magdalensberg M75, NG 45), no. 6, LR 3 (Brijuni, Castrum, DS II), no. 7, Ephesus 56 (Brijuni, Castrum, 209), no. 8, LR 3 (Aquileia), no. 9 Agora M 125 (Zadar, Roman Harbour 1979-85)



³ Peacock 1971, 162-165; Tchernia 1986, 42-48; Peacock and Williams 1986, Class 3-5; Lund 2000, 82-83; Williams, Panella and Keay 2005, Dressel 1;

⁴ Peacock and Williams 1986, Class 8; Tchernia 1986, 68-73; Cipriano and Carre 1989, 80-85; Cipriano 1994, 205-208; Lund 2000, 84; Bezczy 2005, Lamboglia 2.

⁵ Bezczy 2004, 85-91; Bezczy 2006, 289-301.

⁶ Manacorda 2001, 229-240; Palazzo 1989, 550-553; Cipriano and Carre 1989, 68-80; Lund 2000, 84-85.

⁷ Bezczy 2002, 355-358.

part of the first century B.C. Among the earliest amphorae (Dressel 1A and 1C) which had wines from Campania.³ They were followed by the Lamboglia 2, as well as the Brindisi amphorae.

The Lamboglia 2 amphorae (Fig. 1, no. 2) contained various wines from the Adriatic coast.⁴ The petrological analysis shows that some of the amphorae were produced near Brindisi. Other amphorae probably came from middle or northern Italy. Some of the amphorae have stamps: (ER[TE]C, LICIN, L. OPIM, DAM, CADMVS).⁵ However, it

is not known where these were produced.

The olive oil in the Brindisi type amphorae (Fig. 1, no. 1) was exported by well-known workshops.⁶ The best-known owners were Visellius, Betilienus and Vehilius. Their amphorae can be found all over the Mediterranean region. The amphorae produced in the Giancola and "La Rosa" workshops, with the [V]ISELLI, STABVA, DEMETRIVS? and PHILIPVS BETIL stamps can be dated to the second quarter of the first century BC. The one with the MENOPILVS stamp can be dated to the second half of the first century.⁷ There are other Brindisi or Adriatic ovoid amphora types

in Ephesus without stamps.

The Dressel 6A amphorae (Fig. 1, no. 3) replaced the Lamboglia 2 amphorae at the beginning of the Augustan period. The Adriatic wines in these amphorae were produced until the middle of the first century BC.⁸ Some of the amphorae have stamps: (M.HER.PICENT, S.L.E.[P], C.F.G, D.L.F.PRI, .../...RVM).⁹ Seven possible Lamboglia 2 production sites on the coast between Aquileia and Brindisi have been published so far.¹⁰ A workshop on the island of Vis (Issa) in the eastern Adriatic region has also been mentioned.¹¹ The area of Naronia may have had workshops as well.¹² Recently, A. Lindhagen has stated that these amphorae were produced on the Dalmatian coast.¹³ However, the petrological analyses show that the Lamboglia 2 amphorae were also produced in Brindisi.

Olives were brought to Ephesus in Schörgendorfer 558 amphorae (Fig. 1, no. 4). These amphorae were exported to northern Italy, Noricum, Raetia, Pannonia and Dacia.¹⁴ There are a few pieces in Pergamon, and Berenice (Egypt).¹⁵ So far, no Schörgendorfer 558 workshop has been discovered. On the basis of petrological analysis, Roman Sauer supposes that the production may have taken place near Lake Garda.¹⁶ The Istrian region can be excluded with relative certainty. The heavy minerals show fundamental differences between the two regions. The biggest workshop in southern Istria belonged to the Laecanius family from the period of Augustus to the period of Vespasian. The workshop in the middle of the peninsula belonged to Calvia Crispinilla during the period of Nero. The Dressel 6B amphorae produced in these workshops have been compared to the Schörgendorfer 558 amphorae found in Vindobona (Pannonia provincia) and Ephesus. While the pieces coming from the two Istrian workshops are not identical, the quantities of heavy minerals they contain are quite similar.¹⁷ On the other hand, the heavy mineral composition of the Schörgendorfer 558 amphorae is rather dissimilar.

2. Mid and late Roman production in Italy

This period is characterized by the flat-based amphorae. Their shape makes it likely that they were produced in Forlimpopoli and that they contained wine.¹⁸ There is also a small quantity of Mid Roman 1 amphorae from Sicily.¹⁹ The late Roman period witnessed the end of the Italian export to Ephesus. The Italian import from Ephesus is entirely different.

3. Late Hellenistic/Late Republican - early Roman production in Ephesus

From the late Hellenistic period to the Byzantine period several kinds of food and amphorae were produced on the coast of Asia Minor and on the neighbouring Greek islands. The location of Ephesus at the mouth of the river Caystros was excellent from the point of view of sea trade. Ephesus owned a fertile territory in the valley of Caystros where various foodstuffs were produced for the temple of Artemis and for the city. The merchandise produced in the valley passed through the port of Ephesus on its way to its final destination.

Strabo came to Ephesus in 29 B.C. He wrote²⁰ that "... Such, then, is the harbour; and the city, because of its advantageous situation in other respects, grows daily, and is the largest emporium in Asia this side the Taurus...". The development of the city started under Augustus and reached its climax in the second century A.D. It was considered as one of the largest and richest cities beside Rome in the Empire²¹ (Alexandria, Antioch, Carthage and Lugdunum). The consumption of foodstuffs grew steadily, the amphorae unearthed represent the demand of the local population. The evidence for the goods that went through Ephesus can be found in the ports and the warehouses.

There were several kinds of amphorae made in and around Ephesus, only a few of which were used for long-distance transportation. The amphorae and other ceramic material suggest large-scale production, even if no kilns have been identified so far. The production seems to have been continuous from the Hellenistic times to the Byzantine period.

Some of the amphorae were probably wine containers. Strabo thought²² the Ephesus wine was good: "... and indeed the Ephesian and Metropolitan wines are good..." Pliny the Elder,²³ in contrast, had a different opinion: "... as for the vintage of Mesogis, it has been found to cause headache, and that of Ephesus has also proved to be unwholesome, because sea-water and boiled must are employed to season it..." . It seems reasonable to suppose that the amphorae contained wine, oil or other liquids. Since there are very few tituli picti or inscriptions, their content is hard to define. There is a Late Roman 3 amphora in the Vadius Gymnasium on which the graffiti in Greek letters mentions wine κονδ(ιτιον).²⁴

⁸ Baldacci 1967-67, 7-49; Buchi 1973, 531-637; Carre 1985, 211; Cipriano and Carre 1989, 85-88; Tchernia 1986, 129-133; Pesavento Mattioli et al. 1992; Piccottini, 1997, 204-205.

⁹ Bevezky 2001, 11-18.

¹⁰ Cipriano 1994, 207, Fig. 3;

Panella 1970; Empereur & Hesnard 1987, 33; Cipriano and Carre 1989; Bruno 1995, 83-92; Panella 1989, 544-552.

¹¹ Kirigin et al. 2006, 193-194.

¹² Cambi 1989, 321.

¹³ Lindhagen 2009, 83-108.

¹⁴ Muffati Musselli 1987, 187-189;

Toniolo 1991, 28-29; Bevezky 2004, 289-305; Bevezky 2005, Schörgendorfer 558,

¹⁵ Bevezky 2005a, 53-55.

¹⁶ Sauer 2005, 120-121.

¹⁷ Mange and Bevezky 2006, 445-449.

Heavy Minerals	Schörgendorfer 558
Zirkon	1-7
Garnet	30-56
Hornblede	26-52
Epidot	0-9 and 12-44
Turmalin	0-2
Apatite	0
Dressel 6B Laecanius workshop	Dressel 6B Calvia Crispinilla workshop
4-21	17
12-43	34
4-25	0
17-46	21
9-18	21
5-20	3

¹⁸ Aldini 1978, 230-245; Panella 2001; Tchernia 1986, 258-259; Cipriano and Carre 1989, 88-90; Williams, Panella and Rizzo 2005, Forlimpopoli; Paczynska and Naumenko 2004, 309-312.

¹⁹ Rizzo 2003, 157-158; Bonifay 2004, 146-148; Panella 1973, 469-471; Riley 1979, 177; Sciallano and Sibella 1994.

²⁰ Strabo, Geogr. XIV, 1.24.

²¹ Rostovtzeff 1957, 139.

²² Strabo, Geogr. XIV.1.15.

²³ Pliny, Nat.His. 14.75.

²⁴ Ladstätter 2008, 181, K 219; Compare Apicius I. 1. conditum paradoxum (wine of spice and surprise). A similar titulus pictus has been found in a amphora neck in Italy in a Late Roman cemetery, Martin 1999, 358, "in cursive Greek letters: -κον-;"

It was Ulrike Outchar²⁵ who first came up with the idea of local production. She suggested that some of the Roman amphorae (Late Roman 1, Late Roman 3 and Kapitän II) may have been produced in Ephesus. The petrographical analyses have confirmed that the LR 3 amphorae were produced near Ephesus. The Kapitän II amphorae have only circumstantial evidence. There are Kapitän II amphora fragments in Pannonia province²⁶ which are considered to have been produced in Ephesus. The possibility of local production of Late Roman 1 amphorae can be excluded. All the analyses are based on the comprehensive geological survey of the region which was performed during the 90s.²⁷

Recently Roman Sauer distinguished three main types of clay. One of them (Fabric A, garnet rich) came from the area south of Ephesus near the Kuşadasi region, as well as from the Meander valley. The other (Fabric B, epidot/clinozoisite rich) originated from the immediate vicinity of Ephesus and from the Caystros valley. The third fabric is rich in carbonate (marls) with mica and epidote came from the Caystros valley too.

The types of the amphorae which are considered to come from Ephesus are as follows:

The group of Hellenistic / late Hellenistic amphorae

The datable Ephesian amphorae in the Hellenistic period come from various layers. The period from the middle to the end of the second century BC is characterized by the significant amount of well-known Greek wine amphorae from Rhodes, Kos, Chios and Knidos. There are a few amphorae from Egypt and the Black Sea (Sinope).²⁸ In addition, there is the group of vessels produced in the vicinity of Ephesus. The Mushroom rim type (Fig.) seems to coincide with Nikandros group, so-called for one of the name-stamps.²⁹ Its dominant presence at Ephesus suggests a production site in the vicinity.³⁰ The mushroom-shaped rim types have different fabrics as well. These amphorae can also be found in a number of sites in Asia Minor and Athens. There are the less frequent Aegean Local 1 and 2 amphorae, sometimes with monogram stamps, outside Ephesus.³¹ According to the petrological analyses, some of the Mushroom rim type, Aegean Local 1 (Fig.) and Aegean Local 2 (Fig.) amphorae were produced from the carbonate rich (marls) fabric in Ephesus.

One handle jar and variation from first century BC to the fourth century AD

The Agora F 65/66 type (Fig.) of one-handled jar that was first isolated in the Athenian Agora.³² This type is the earliest form of a series which was produced from the middle of the first century BC to the fourth century AD.³³ The development of the form, its variants: Agora F 65-66 first century BC; M 45 mid first to early second century AD.; J 46-47, M 125-126 second to early third century; M 240, M 255-256-257, L 50-51 fourth century; M 275-276-277, M 279-280-281-282 late fourth century; M 315 sixth century. Sometimes it is called the one-handle variant of the LR 3 amphora.³⁴ According to the petrological analyses, the Agora F65/66 jars were produced from the Fabric A of Ephesus.

The one-handled vessels are supposed to have been made in number of workshops in the coastal areas of Asia Minor also be produced in Sardeis.

The earliest one handle jars (Agora F65) on the Adriatic coast were found on a sunken ship from the Augustan period (Comanchio, Valle Ponti). There are similar pieces in Magdalensberg via Aquileia (Fig. 1, no. 5).³⁵ The one handle jar and its later versions (Agora F 66, J45/46, M125..) are found in Aquileia, Istrian peninsula, Brijuni Island, Slovenia,³⁶ It can also be found in the western provinces: France, Germany, Britain, Raetia, Egypt.³⁷

Mid- and later Roman production in Ephesus

During this period one of the most common amphorae was the Kapitän II type.³⁸ In Ostia, there are such amphorae belonging to the late second century, but they were most common in the third and fourth centuries.³⁹ For a long time it was thought that this type of amphorae came from production sites in the Aegean region. Based on morphological considerations, Virginia Grace⁴⁰ thought that the amphorae came from Samos. Panella⁴¹ has suggested Kos as a centres of production. The provenance of this amphora cannot be defined by petrological analysis. There are two groups of the Kapitän II amphorae. The one with red fabric has wide distribution and is represented in substantial numbers in Ephesus and was common both in the Mediterranean and in the provinces.⁴² The amphorae with buff colour are less frequent. The analysis of the fabric of this piece suggests that it may have been produced in the Caystros valley (Küçük Menderes) and in the region of Ephesus (Samos can also be considered).

²⁵ Outchar 1993, 46-52.

²⁶ Bezczy 2005, 45; Sauer 2005, 117-118.

²⁷ Sauer 1995.

²⁸ Lawall 2001; Bezczy 2006, 287-288.

²⁹ Grace and Savvatiou-Petropoulakou 1970, 365-367.

³⁰ Gassner 1997, 105-113; Lawall 2004, 177-182; Lawall 2007, 48-53.

³¹ Bezczy 2006, 298, Fig. 4, nos. 25-26.

³² Robinson 1959, 17, Pl. 41.

³³ Lang 1955, 277-278; Riley 1979, 183-186; Lemaître 1997, 3111-319; Brun 2004, 92; Pieri 2005

³⁴ Peacock and Williams, 1986, 188-190.

³⁵ Berti 1990, ; Magdalensberg MB 75 NG/45. Personal discussion E. Schindler-Kaudelka

³⁶ Personal discussion F. Maselli Scotti, L. Mandruzzato and M. Pavletić; Vidrić-Perko 1998, 100;

³⁷ Robinson 1959, 17; Riley 1979,

184; Loeschke 1909, 292-293;

Panella 1973, 461-462, fig. 36;

Panella 1986, 622; Lemaître

1997, 311-319; Hayes 1996, 172-

173.; Tomber 2006, 167, 54-961;

Wendrich at al. 2003, 75, "Late Roman 3 amphora, ... Probably represented in the 1st c, but more typical of the mid-4th and later.

³⁸ Kapitän 1972, 243-252.

³⁹ Carandini and Panella 1981, 494.

⁴⁰ Grace 1971, 72 footnote 51; Riley 1979, 192, but Riley did not share this view; Majcherek 1993, 218.

⁴¹ Panella 1973, 228-229; Panella 1986, 617.

⁴² Peacock & Williams, 1986, 193-195.

They are known from Pannonia (Vindobona) and Egypt (Alexandria).⁴³ It is an interesting question why the locally produced Kapitän II amphorae can only be found at faraway sites. The amphora in Vindobona must have come through Aquileia. In some cases, the amphorae were found on shipwrecks with marble in Libia, Italy-Sicily, Greece and Turkey.⁴⁴

Late Roman 3 and Ephesus 56 amphorae

The Late Roman Amphora 3 (Fig. 1, no. 6 and 8) is one of the best-known small forms. This type is dated from the end of the fourth century to the end of the sixth. It had a widespread distribution in the Empire from Britain, Spain, Italy, the Istrian peninsula, the Balkans, Greece, the Black Sea, Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Ethiopia to Sudan.⁴⁵ There is a Late Roman 3 amphora in Ravenna. It has an 'Aphrodisias' (Ἀφροδισίος) graffiti.⁴⁶ It is supposed to be a name - perhaps that of the producer or the merchant. It is a recent development that LR 3 amphorae were found in a Byzantine villa in the island of Brijuni in the Northern Adriatic.

The Ephesus 56 type of amphorae (Fig. 1, no. 7) can be found only in a few places (Carthage, Rome, Bodrum). The fabric of the pieces in Carthage is the same as that of the LR 3 amphorae studied by Peacock.⁴⁷ The dating is also the same. They occur with LR 3 amphorae at most sites in Ephesus and can be dated from the end of the fourth century to the end of the sixth/beginning of the seventh century A.D. This type also occurs in the villa on the island of Brijuni and in one of the cemeteries of Zadar.⁴⁸

Both amphora types (LR 3 and Ephesus 56) have micaceous fabric produced near Ephesus (Fabric B).

This brief account shows Ephesus and the Adriatic region had trade connection for centuries. In the first century BC. the wine in the Lamboglia 2 amphorae and the olive oil in the Brindisi amphorae amounted to 5-10 percent of the Ephesian import. It is not easy to estimate the quantity of the Ephesian export to the Adriatic region because there is as yet no comprehensive survey. However, LR 3 and Ephesus 56 amphorae have been found in a number of sites on the Adriatic coastline.⁴⁹

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- ⁴³ Bezechky 2005, 45 Sauer 2005, 117-118; Majcherek 1993, 218.
- ⁴⁴ Parker 1992, nos. 22, 229, 567, 670, 695, 755, 1143 and 1183
- ⁴⁵ Tomber and Williams 1986, 49-50; Keay 1984, type LIVBis, 287-289; Peacock and Williams 1986, 189; Berti 1986, 185-186; Carignani and Pacetti 1989, 10-11; Bonifay and Villedieu 1989, 27; Bonifay and Piéri 1995, 111;
- ⁴⁶ Fiaccadori 1983, 238-239, 23.1a-b.
- ⁴⁷ Fulford and Peacock 1984, 22.
- ⁴⁸ Personal discussion with Mira Pavletić és Smiljan Gluscevic.
- ⁴⁹ Otranto - Arthur 1995, 203-204; Altino - Toniolo 1993, 39 and 73.

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SAŽETAK

TRGOVAČKE VEZE IZMEĐU EFEZA I JADRANSKOGA PODRUČJA

Tamás BEZECZKY

Postojale su čvrste trgovačke veze između Italije i Efeza od kasnog helenističkog razdoblja do kasnog rimskog razdoblja. U ovom radu govorit ću o efeškom uvozu jadranskih namirnica i amfora. Ove su amfore pronađene

prilikom iskopavanja na tržnici (tetragonos agora), na terasastoj kući 2 i bazilici-stoi. Osim toga, iznijet ću kratak pregled izvoza namirnica i amfora iz Efeza i okolice u jadransko područje.